



Bishop Patrick Byrne and the Korean Catholic Church in Cold War Korea

Jieun HAN

Abstract

After its liberation, Korea was divided in half—the South controlled by the American military government and the North by the Soviet Red Army. As rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union intensified on the Korean Peninsula, in October 1947, Pope Pius XII made a groundbreaking decision to send Bishop Patrick James Byrne to Seoul as the first apostolic visitor to Korea. His appointment was regarded as the Vatican's recognition of Korea as an independent nation, even before the formal establishment of the Republic of Korea on August 15, 1948. Thus, the Cold War in Korea came to take on a significant religious dimension. The Cold War in Korea is generally regarded as a proxy war between the United States and the Soviet Union. However, the Holy See had its own agenda for confronting what it viewed as atheistic communists. In this context, this paper sheds light on Pope Pius XII's papal diplomacy by exploring Bishop Byrne's mission and the relations between the Korean Catholic Church led by Bishop Ro Kinam, the American military government, and the Vatican, in building an independent state in Korea. This paper also examines how anti-communism served as a driving force in the fight against atheistic Marxists and how religious leaders perceived the Cold War in the process of establishing a new state on the Korean Peninsula.

Keywords: anti-communism, American military government, Archbishop Spellman, Bishop Byrne, Cold War, Korean Catholic Church, papal diplomacy, Pope Pius XII, Ro Kinam

This paper was originally presented at the 12th Kyujanggak International Symposium on Korean Studies on November 1, 2019.

Jieun HAN is a senior researcher at the Academy of East Asian Studies, Sungkyunkwan University.
E-mail: jehan@skku.edu.

Introduction

Korea was liberated from Japanese colonial rule on August 15, 1945. However, national independence would not come easy. Immediately after liberation, the North was occupied by the Soviet Red Army on August 20 and the South by the United States Army on September 8. Also on September 8, the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) was established to govern the South. Archbishop of New York Francis Spellman (1889-1967) accompanied the American occupation forces as military vicar. On the following day, September 9, Archbishop Spellman celebrated mass at Myungdong (Myeongdong) Cathedral in Seoul with high-ranking American military officers and local Christians. Thus, unlike in the colonial period, when a policy of separation between church and state was maintained, in post-liberation Korea, Catholics, whether foreign or Korean, came to actively participate in the building of a new state and to maintain close relations with the US military government and the Vatican.

As the Cold War intensified around the world, so did confrontations and conflicts between the Soviet Union and its Eastern Bloc allies and the United States and its West European allies. At this juncture, the Holy See made the drastic decision to appoint Bishop Patrick James Byrne (方溢恩, 1888-1950) as apostolic visitor to Korea on August 12, 1947. This was a clear gesture to the world that the Vatican recognized South Korea as an independent state, even before the formal establishment of the Republic of Korea on August 15, 1948. Thus, in Cold War Korea, the establishment of a state took on a meaningful religious aspect. This paper examines how the Vatican used diplomacy to promote the position of the Catholic Church in the process of state-building on the divided Korean Peninsula. This paper also hopes to shed light on Bishop Byrne's mission to Korea and the diplomacy between the Korean Catholic Church, the American military government, and the Vatican in Cold War Korea. Finally, it also explores the crucial role played by anti-communism in linking these main players in a struggle against what was seen as atheist Marxism, and examines period perceptions of the Korean War by religious leaders.

The Korean Catholic Church under the American Military Government in Korea

Korea was liberated on August 15, 1945. To augment the joy of Korean Catholics, this day was also the Day of the Assumption of Mary. However, the whole nation was soon swept into confusion, as the Soviet Red Army occupied the northern half of the peninsula on August 20, and then occupying forces of the United States landed at Incheon on September 8. Contrary to the will of the Korean people, their motherland was subsequently divided into two different administrative jurisdictions by the occupying foreign armies. In the early morning of the day following the landing of American forces, an American chaplain with the rank of colonel visited Korea's Bishop Ro Kinam (or No Ginam, 1902-1964) accompanied by an interpreter in uniform (Park 1985, 265).¹ Bishop Ro had been appointed the first Korean bishop of the Seoul Diocese in January 1942 by Pope Pius XII (1876-1958), and in 1945 was the leader of the Korean Catholic Church (Ro [1967] 1984, 114).² The visiting chaplain explained to Ro that Archbishop Francis Spellman of New York, who had come to Korea as military vicar accompanying the American forces, desired to offer a mass in the afternoon of that same day but the archbishop wanted first to obtain the permission of Bishop Ro. Thus, at five p.m. on September 9, a mass was celebrated by Archbishop Spellman at Myungdong Cathedral, headquarters of the Korean Catholic Church, with large numbers of American military officers and Korean believers present (Park 1985, 271). At the mass, Spellman emphasized through an interpreter how the Korean people were expected to fulfill their responsibilities by keeping the Heavenly Lord's law and conscience as they established and developed a new state on the Korean Peninsula. After the mass Spellman talked with Bishop Ro for about an hour,

-
1. The American interpreter was Dr. Horace Grant Underwood II (1917-2004), grandson of Horace Grant Underwood I (1859-1916) who had come to Korea in 1885 as a Protestant missionary and founded Chosen Christian College (now Yonsei University) in Seoul.
 2. It was a sudden and clandestine move by Adrien Joseph Larribeau (元亨根, 1883-1974) to hand leadership of the Korean Catholic Church over from the French to a local Korean, rather than to a Japanese bishop.

the contents of which were never revealed to the public, and then departed for Tokyo on September 12.³

Archbishop Spellman, nicknamed the “American pope,” wielded enormous influence not only in the Catholic Church, but also outside of it. He also had a good relationship with the military. As an ardent anti-communist, he firmly believed that atheist Marxism was systematically seeking to undermine the Catholic Church at both home and abroad and had already infiltrated the United States. He considered Marxism the archenemy of the Vatican and the United States as well. Due to his firm anti-communism, Archbishop Spellman was close to many influential conservatives in politics and the military, such as the General Douglas MacArthur (1880-1964), FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover (1895-1972), and John Foster Dulles (1888-1959). Dulles, a devout Presbyterian, worked as a chief foreign policy advisor and then US Secretary of State under President Eisenhower (1953-1959), strengthening Cold War alliances against the Soviet Union and the Eastern Bloc. Moreover, Spellman enjoyed a close relationship with the Vatican. After Cardinal Eugenio Pacelli was elected as Pope Pius XII in March 1939, his first act was to appoint Spellman archbishop of New York in April. When Spellman became a cardinal on February 21, 1946, it was reported he was highly likely to become the first American pope. With increasing influence in and outside the Church, Archbishop Spellman could put more energy and spirit into resisting the expansion of communist influence.

In line with Pope Pius XII, Spellman was greatly concerned about anti-Catholic persecutions and the executions of Catholic priests and believers by communists around the world (Cooney 1984, xv, 147). In addition, he had worked secretly for President Roosevelt to contact chiefs of state around the world. This was because he could meet generals and enlisted men and travel to places even American diplomats could not go. To him, there was no separation between church and state (Cooney 1984, 124-125; Gvosdev 2000, 805). He made his first visit to Korea on September 8, 1945 as a military vicar, but the nature of his mission is not clearly known. Just three days after

3. *Gyeonghwang japji*, August 1946, 10-12.

the occupying American forces arrived in Korea, Bishop Ro was invited to a meeting with Colonel Cecil Nist of the United States Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK).⁴ On September 12, the bishop met the colonel, with Dr. John Chang Myon (Jang Myeon, 1899–1966) acting as his interpreter.⁵ Colonel Nist related that the American military was in Korea in order to achieve Korea's national independence in cooperation with the Koreans. To accomplish this, he asked Bishop Ro to recommend Korean leaders who could work with USAMGIK. It is known that the American military government regarded Bishop Ro as the right person to provide them conscientious and objective advice, which is why the general contacted him (Kim 2010, 73). However, the bishop had led the Korean Catholic Church in the final stage of Japanese colonial rule. Even though his successor, Cardinal Stephen Kim Sou-hwan (Kim Suhwan, 1922–2009), a famous advocate for democracy during the period of South Korea's dictatorial regimes, defended Bishop Ro for his “pro-Japanese” activities as having been undertaken under duress in order to keep the Church from falling under Japanese control, Ro was not completely free from criticisms of collaboration.⁶ Considering

-
4. Bishop Ro relates in his book *Dangsin-ui tteut daero* (Your Will Be Done) that he was invited by a Brigadier General Nister, General Hodge's political advisor (Ro [1967] 1984, 182). Subsequent scholars, such as Kim Suja, repeated the bishop without giving his full name (Kim 2010, 73). However, Bruce Cumings indicates that then chief of military intelligence (G-2) was Colonel Cecil Nist (Cumings 1981, 142). Thus it seems that Bishop Ro was in fact invited by Nist.
 5. When Ro Kinam entered the Yongsan Seminary in 1917, Chang Myon was working there as a teacher (Ro [1967] 1984, 77–82).
 6. A famous anti-government democratic fighter, Cardinal Sou-hwan Kim said he himself could arguably be more pro-Japanese, compared to Bishop Ro, because he had been conscripted during World War II by the Japanese authorities to fight the Allied forces, he had changed his name to the Japanese style, and he had followed Japanese Shinto worship when he was a student. Kim defended Bishop Ro in an interview with the South Korean newspaper *Donga ilbo*, arguing that the bishop had been forced to follow Japanese policy as a church leader and had done so in order to protect the Church (Yun Jeongguk and Jeon Seunghun, “Jeongcheseong hollan' Hanguk ho eodiro gana; Kim Su-hwan chugigyeong teukbyeol hoegyeon” [“Identity Confusion” Where is the Korean Ship of State Going?: A Special Interview with Cardinal Kim Sou-hwan], *Donga ilbo*, October 20, 2005, <https://www.donga.com/news/article/all/20051021/8239800/1>). The *Gatollik pyeonghwa sinmun*, a mouthpiece of the Korean Catholic Church, reported that Ro was selected as deputy director of the

USAMGIK's relations with American missionaries in Korea,⁷ as well as Archbishop Spellman's close relationship with military and political leaders, it seems likely that Spellman was involved in USAMGIK's access to the Bishop Ro. After long discussions with John Chang Myon, the bishop submitted a list of sixty persons, including Syngman Rhee (1875–1965) and Kim Gu (1876–1949), who were stubbornly anti-Japanese nationalists, as well as Song Jinu (1887–1945) and Kim Seongsu (1891–1955) of the Korean Democratic Party (KDP; Hanguk minjudang, or Hanmindang), who were strongly anti-communist. When asked to make a list who might work with the American military government, Bishop Ro excluded anyone who showed the slightest pro-communist or pro-socialist inclination.

After liberation, the religious leaders of the Korean Catholic Church shared the wish that the new state to be established on the Korean Peninsula guarantee the freedom of religion. Under the thirty-six years of Japanese colonial rule, religious leaders—foreign or Korean—were forced to follow Japanese religious policy to mold their followers into Japanese imperial subjects. In order to keep the churches out of Japanese control, in 1941, French Bishop Adrien Joseph Larribeau (元亨根, 1883–1974) made arrangements to transfer leadership of the Korean Catholic Church over to a Korean bishop. Thus, in 1942, Bishop Ro became the first native Korean leader of the Korean Catholic Church. After national liberation, however, Catholic leaders were forced to confront the communists in order to protect

Gyeongseong (Seoul) Parish Alliance of the Gungmin jeongsin chongdongmaeng (General alliance of the people's minds) organized by Japan in 1939, and that he followed the policy on worship at Shinto shrines after consulting with Apostolic Delegate to Japan Paolo Marella (served 1933–1948) and Archbishop of Tokyo Peter Tatsuo Doi (served 1937–1970). But Ro was awarded the Order of the Legion of Honor by the French Government in 1959 for his efforts to protect the 35 French and Irish priests detained by the Japanese during the Pacific War (“Chinil myeongdan-e pohamdoen gatollik insa 7-myeong” [Seven Catholics Included in the List of Japanese Sympathizers], *Gatollik pyeonghwa sinmun*, May 11, 2008, http://www.cpbc.co.kr/CMS/newspaper/view_body.php?cid=249033&path=200805).

7. Horace H. Underwood (1890–1951) gave information on Korea to American intelligence agencies such as the Office of Strategic Services and the Office of Naval Intelligence. It is known that Underwood submitted a list on key Korean figures to the War Department, along with geographical knowledge. For more information on the relationship between American missionaries and the USAMGIK, see An (2010, 234–245).

their faith and the Church. With the cruel persecution of Roman Catholics that followed the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia in October 1917, Pope Pius XI (pope from 1922–1939) made known, in his encyclical *Atheistic Communism* issued in March 1937, that the Church's strongest objection to communism was the latter's militant atheism (Crosby 1978, 7). When Eugenio Pacelli, who had served as apostolic nuncio to Germany from 1917 to 1930 and experienced firsthand the hostile attacks by communists on his nunciature, was elected to the papacy as Pope Pius XII (pope from 1939–1958) in March 1939, the Roman Catholic Church became even more adamantly opposed to communism, seeing it as a great evil and threat to Christian civilization and the world (Kent 2002, 15). Therefore, Catholic leaders believed that a free democratic system based on Christianity, such as those in America and Western Europe, would be the best political system to confront with atheistic Marxist-Leninism. When Bishop Ro delivered the list of his recommendations to Colonel Nist on the following day, he pleaded with the intelligence officer to take special measures against the leftists' agitation and propaganda, which was growing ever more vociferous (Ro [1967] 1984, 182–183). On September 18, the bishop also met General John R. Hodge (1893–1963), the American military governor of South Korea, in his room on the second floor of the Chosun Hotel, where the American military command had been established. For about thirty minutes General Hodge gauged the bishop's thoughts on the current Korean situation and Korean leaders. On September 26, Bishop Ro officiated at a mass for the American military to celebrate their victory for world peace, and on November 1, he offered a mass for the eternal repose of American soldiers lost in World War II. High-ranking military officials, including General Hodge and Major General Archibald Vincent Arnold (1889–1973) participated in the masses. Following this, about four hundred Americans in uniform, including two or three generals, came to attend the 9:30 a.m. mass every Sunday. Thus, the Korean Catholic Church came to establish good relations with the American military government and its advisors (Park 1985, 271; Kim 2010, 74). Consequently, the new political system that the leaders of the Korean Catholic Church pursued was to be pro-American and anti-communist in character.

Meanwhile, Bishop Ro also nurtured close relations with Korean political leaders, such as Syngman Rhee and Kim Gu. Rhee had returned to Korea from exile on October 16, 1945. The bishop visited Rhee at his Seoul residence called Donam-jang on November 5. Rhee informed Ro that he had received lots of support and assistance from Archbishop Spellman and the Catholic faithful during his residence in the United States, and requested the bishop to offer yet more active support toward the achievement of full national sovereignty. In fact, even after Rhee was elected as president of the Korea Provisional Government (KPG) in Shanghai in 1919, no one in the US State Department had given him even a passing glance. He visited the State Department offices in Washington, DC almost every day during his exile in the United States but received nothing but cold shoulders. When Rhee went to New York, however, Archbishop Spellman threw him a public banquet at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel with many influential dignitaries, who received him with congratulatory speeches (Lane 1955, 178).

On November 30, 1945, Bishop Ro gave a welcoming party for Rhee at the bishop's rectory with local and foreign priests present. Dr. John Chang also joined the party. Kim Gu, also a former president of the KPG in China and the most prominent political rival to Syngman Rhee, returned to Korea on November 24 along with Korean nationalists who had worked in the KPG. Kim also had good relations with the Korean Catholic leaders, and would even be baptized as Peter just minutes before his death on June 29, 1949 (Doak 2017, 16).⁸ Bishop Ro offered a mass for the Korean nationalists who worked at the KPG and hosted a welcoming party for them on December 8, the day celebrating the Virgin Mary's Immaculate Conception.

8. Also *Gatollik pyeonghwa sinmun*, March 3, 2019. Kim Gu was baptized as Peter by then president of St. Mary's Hospital, Dr. Joseph Byeongnae Park (1903–1974) at Kim's residence Gyeonggyo-jang on June 29, 1949. Park had treated Kim after he had been felled by a bullet that same day. Reportedly, after Kim Gu's death Park raised Kim's granddaughter, Kim Hyoja (b. 1941), for about twenty years, until she went to the United States to study. Hyoja's mother, An Misaeng (1914–2007), was the daughter of Cyril An Jeonggeun (1885–1949) and niece of Thomas An Junggeun (1879–1910) who killed Itō Hirobumi. Kim Gu's first son, Kim In (1917–1945), married Susanna An Misaeng in 1940 and the latter worked as Kim Gu's secretary in the KPG following her husband's death in March 1945.

Syngman Rhee was also present. At the party, Kim Gu officially expressed his thanks to Chinese Bishop Paul Yu Bin 于斌 (1901–1978), who would become the second Chinese cardinal, for his great support of the activities of the KPG and the Korean Independence Army (Choi 2014, 321–357).⁹ Thus, Myungdong Cathedral was often used as a political rallying point.

Bishop Ro was strongly anti-communist, which was in line with the papal edicts issued since the 1920s. But the Roman Catholic popes considered communism as essentially irreligious, as seen in such papal encyclicals as *Nostis et Nobiscum* (1848), *Quanta Cura* (1864), and *Diuturnum Illud* (1881) (Crosby 1978, 4). The struggle against communism was regarded as a mission by Catholic religious leaders in order to maintain the faith and the Church. Accordingly, the Roman Catholic Church became a major anti-communist voice in the world, waging its own cold war with Marxist-Leninism even before World War II. Under Japanese imperial rule, colonial Korea witnessed the rise of socialist movements from the 1920s. The magazine *Gaebyeok* (Daybreak) was launched in June 1920 and led religious social movements of the Cheondogyo (Religion of the Heavenly Way). *Gaebyeok* introduced the works of such socialists as Karl Marx and Engels, which were translated by Japanese socialists. The magazine promoted an agenda of cultural reform towards building a new society. In this, it asserted that a new religion was required and that Cheondogyo was the best religion to achieve reform (H. Jeong 2019, 176–177). The *Joseon ji gwang* (Light of Joseon), another socialist magazine, was founded in 1922. When the Joseon Communist Party was established in 1925, the magazine served as its mouthpiece and published proletarian literature. However, imperial Japan outlawed any socialist or communist movements and the *Gaebyeok* was closed down in 1926, with the *Joseon ji gwang* following in 1930. From that time on, socialist movements could only operate underground (Han 2006, 178–185). Moreover, Cheondogyo had its origins in Donghak (Eastern Learning), which emerged in opposition to Catholicism (or Western

9. As the Chinese Communist Party's power grew on the mainland, the anti-communist Bishop Yu Bin's life began to be imperiled, and in July 1949 the Vatican instructed him to leave mainland China for Taiwan (Choi 2014, 332).

Learning). Therefore, conflicts between leftists and rightists on the Korean Peninsula go back before the end of World War II. However, the Korean communist movement became dormant as the Joseon Communist Party was disbanded in December 1928.

Pope Pius XII realized that communism posed a major threat to the Catholic Church in Europe. After the end of World War II, the Holy See therefore tried to create public support for resisting the expansion of Soviet communism into Western Europe (Kent 2013, 68). As the persecutions against priests continued in Eastern Bloc countries, such as Poland and Yugoslavia, in 1947, the pope recognized the organization of the Blue Army of Our Lady of Fatima, which was aimed at waging spiritual warfare against the Red Army, or forces of communism.¹⁰ Pope Pius XII, who had proclaimed himself the “world chief against communism,” officially offered his blessings to the founders of the Blue Army of Our Lady of Fatima—the Carmelite seminarian-trained John M. Haffert (1915–2001) and Fr. Harold Colgan (1894–1972) (Bennett 2015, 263–268).

Stung by the expansion of Marxist-Leninism on the Korean Peninsula following liberation, Bishop Ro encouraged Catholic laypersons to join a political party that promoted a democratic political system and to become actively involved in building a new state. When the Korean Democratic Party (KDP), considered as representative of Korean conservatives, held its inaugural meeting on September 4, 1945, leaders of the Korean Catholic community, such as Jo Jongguk (1919–1998), Park Byeongnae (1903–1974), and Jang Bal (1901–2001), participated as supporters. About forty Catholic laypersons joined the KDP on its official launching on September 16. The Korean Catholic Church supported the KDP, which from its inception

10. This organization was related with the so-called Fatima secrets. Six times in the course of 1917 the Virgin of the Rosary had allegedly revealed herself to some children in the town of Fatima, Portugal. The children said that the Virgin of the Rosary wanted people to make sacrifices to appease God and that the Great War (World War I) would come to an end soon. However, the two youngest children died in February 1920 due to the influenza pandemic, whereas Lucia Santos, the last child, lived in a convent where her true identity was concealed until 1928. Sister Lucia subsequently joined a Carmelite convent in 1946 and died there in 2005, isolated from the public.

was mainly composed of journalists and social elite, such as Kim Seongsu (1891–1955), Song Jinu (1890–1945), and Jo Byeongok (1894–1960). The KDP at first upheld the establishment of a unified independent state, but later shifted to advocate the establishment of a separate government in the South to stand against the communists in the North. Korean Protestants also worried about the expansion of atheistic communism. Bishop Ro made efforts to unite with other religious leaders and ecumenically participated in anti-communist rallies on anti-trusteeship, the commemoration of the March First Movement of 1919, and opposition to the withdrawal of American troops from the Korean Peninsula (Park 1985, 275; I. Kang 2001, 21). To these religious leaders, political participation and anti-communism served as their new mission and duty in order to build an independent state that would guarantee the freedom of religion. It seems Bishop Ro's political activities might have been encouraged by Archbishop Spellman. Without the latter's endorsement, Ro could not have so ardently engaged in politics. Accordingly, his anti-communism grew much stronger.

Apostolic Visitor Bishop Byrne's Mission in Cold War Korea

On August 12, 1947, Propaganda Fide in Rome (which is currently the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples and responsible for missionary work and related activities) sent a telegram to the Catholic Foreign Mission Society of America in New York, better known as Maryknoll, appointing Fr. Patrick James Byrne (1888–1950) apostolic visitor to Korea with the power of apostolic delegate (Lane 1955, 173). This appointment made by the Vatican was very meaningful to the Korean Catholic Church and Koreans as well because it could be interpreted as the Holy See recognizing Syngman Rhee's plan to establish a separate government in the South.¹¹ Why then did

11. It is widely known that Syngman Rhee first revealed his wish to establish a separate government in the South on June 3, 1946 in Jeongeup, Jeollabuk-do province. But in fact Rhee had begun to express his ideas on a separate government to his confidants from early 1946. Rhee's lobbyist friend Millar Preston Goodfellow (1892–1973), who had served as deputy director of the Office of Strategic Services (the forerunner of the Central Intelligence

Pope Pius XII decide to send Bishop Byrne to a divided Korean Peninsula and what was his mission in Cold War Korea?

Bishop Byrne, the first Maryknoller to Korea, first set foot on Korean soil on May 10, 1923. He worked to spread the gospel in Pyeongan-do province (in what is now North Korea), before becoming the first prefect apostolic of Pyongyang in 1927 when the Pyongyang Diocese was established. When he was elected the deputy supreme moderator of the Maryknoll Society in 1929, he departed Korea for the United States to undertake his duties. From 1937 he worked as prefect apostolic of Kyoto, Japan. After Japan's surprise attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, about 140 Maryknollers in Japan were imprisoned because of their American nationality and suspected espionage activities. Bishop Byrne remained under house arrest in Kyoto for more than three years, until Japan's surrender on August 15, 1945. Despite the Japanese emperor's announcement of surrender, stubborn Japanese militarists did not stop fighting, spreading rumors that American forces would torture the Japanese, confiscate their homes and property, and violate Japanese women, the same charges they had been made against innocent Koreans in Japan during the Great Kantō Earthquake of 1923 (H. Kang 2018, 275–278).¹² As the situation grew more volatile and unpredictable, one Japanese reporter for the *Asahi*

Agency) publicly related the idea of a separate government on May 24, 1946, some weeks before Syngman Rhee's Jeongeup statement, arguing that the United States should seek the establishment of a separate government in the South, if the Soviets did not resume participation in the US-Soviet Joint Commission soon. Yet the rumor persisted that it was the American military government that had suggested the establishment of a separate government in the South (B. Jeong 2005, 563–569). Bruce Cumings (1981, 213) has alleged that Goodfellow appeared in Seoul in November or December 1945 to arrange for the transfer of a large sum of money to Rhee to help him to establish the first Korean government. Before his returning to the United States in May 1946, Goodfellow had secret deals with Rhee and supported a separate administration in the South.

12. After a great earthquake struck Tokyo and the Kantō region on September 1, 1923, the Japanese government spread false rumors about the country's Korean residents, saying they had poisoned the well water, raped Japanese, and resorted to violence. These false rumors contributed to the mass killings of innocent Koreans by frightened Japanese. In the violence about 6,661 Koreans were killed with many more wounded. For more on this, see H. Kang (2018) and Tanaka (2015).

shimbun visited Archbishop Peter Tatsuo Doi (1892–1970) of Tokyo. The reporter was worried that such an uneasy situation might lead to mass suicides. The Japanese feared looting or assaults on women. The archbishop suggested Bishop Byrne might work for both the United States and Japan. After the reporter went to Bishop Byrne with Monsignor Paul Yoshiyuki Furuya (1900–1991) of Kyoto, Byrne accepted their suggestion to make a radio address to calm the frightened Japanese people. Bishop Byrne's speech, recorded at a broadcasting station in Tokyo over two days, was addressed to both the arriving troops and the agitated Japanese. Byrne asked the occupying American soldiers to maintain composure and avoid any trouble in their contacts with the Japanese. To the Japanese, Byrne emphasized that the eyes of the world were on the occupying troops so that the Japanese could be sure they would act peacefully. He added that the occupying army was coming to assist in reconstruction and building democracy in the country (Felsecker 2009). His radio broadcast was also reported in an article in the *Asahi shimbun* of August 20, 1945. This helped the Japanese emerge from their fear to build a new state from the devastation of war. Due to the successful accomplishment of his mission in Japan, American newspapers evaluated Bishop Byrne as "Japan's number two American," after General Douglas MacArthur (1880–1964), the supreme commander of the Allied powers. General MacArthur considered Bishop Byrne a great help in peacefully controlling Japan at a time when everything was in confusion and disarray (Lane 1955, 156–157). In his book *Ambassador in Chains*, his friend Raymond A. Lane (1894–1974) wrote that Byrne loved the Japanese to the extent he would have died for them (Lane 1955, 173). The bishop spent 11 years in Kyoto but was detained under house arrest by the Japanese government for 3 years and 8 months during the Pacific War. Thus, his love for the Japanese seems to come from his pastoral duties as a missionary.

After assuming his duties in Japan in August 1945, General MacArthur played an active role in reorienting Japanese religious life. He urged American church leaders, including Bishop Byrne, to send a thousand missionaries to bring democracy and Christianity to the Japanese. In early 1946, MacArthur insisted that missionaries had an unprecedented opportunity to introduce Christianity to the Japanese. During the

occupation, he kept urging the missionary boards to dispatch more Christian volunteers. The general considered Christianity as a sure antidote to communism. Moreover, his keen interest in Christianity drove him to take an important part in establishing the International Christian University in Tokyo in 1949 (Wittner 1971, 83, 86). When the *New York Herald Tribune* criticized General MacArthur's policy on Japan, Bishop Byrne defended him in a letter to editor, arguing that the so-called "MacArthur policy" was necessary for obtaining the full and speedy cooperation of the Japanese populace, and thus General MacArthur had agreed to tolerate Japanese respect for their emperor while preventing mass mobilizations by Japanese communists. Byrne was convinced that the MacArthur policy could work as an ideal method for spreading Christianity. Both General MacArthur and Bishop Byrne shared a strong anti-communism, something that fostered their close relationship. On May 3, 1947, Japan declared a new constitution aimed at establishing Japan as a postwar democratic state. Accordingly, Bishop Byrne's leadership and first-hand experience in building a new Japan under the occupying forces seems to have played a decisive role in his being appointed the first apostolic visitor to Cold War Korea.

Bishop Byrne returned to Korea on October 9, 1947. He was warmly welcomed at Seoul's Gimpo Airport by political leaders such as Dr. Kim Gysik (1881–1950) and Minister of National Affairs An Jaehong (1891–1965), not to mention church leaders including Bishop Ro, Bishop Larribeau, and John Chang. A welcoming party was held at Myungdong Cathedral on October 12 with about fifty American officers including General Hodge in attendance. Kim Gu and Philip Jaisohn (Seo Jaepil, 1864–1951) were also present and gave him a welcoming speech. In reply, the bishop conveyed Pope Pius XII's message to Korean Catholics, saying that the pope was concerned about Koreans' happiness and he had a deep conviction that their devoted faith would serve to build a new, autonomous, and democratic state founded upon Christ's principles. Seoul City Government also threw a welcoming party for Byrne on October 18 with about 500 in attendance.¹³ When Byrne visited Syngman Rhee with his credential letter, Rhee, as the

13. *Gatollik cheongnyeon*, October 1947, 2–7; *Gyeonghwang jappi*, August, 1947, 161–166.

head of the interim government under the American military, expressed his gratitude to the pontiff for showing such great sympathy for and interest in the Korean fight for independence. Rhee also acknowledged the papal encouragement and moral support for the Korean people, saying that “Bishop Byrne’s appointment as apostolic visitor was a clear manifestation of the unshaken faith of the Catholics in the ultimate victory of a cause dedicated to justice and freedom of mankind” (Lane 1955, 182). Syngman Rhee invited Bishop Byrne to his residence Donam-jang several times, with Bishop Ro or Bishop Larribeau in some instances, to exchange opinions or seek advice on current affairs. Bishop Ro noted in his autobiography that Syngman Rhee’s strong anti-communism greatly impressed Catholic bishops and laypeople, garnering their respect and support (Ro [1967] 1984, 191–192). However, the American military’s governance of southern Korea led to the reinstatement of Japanese collaborators and colonial state apparatuses, especially in the police. Rhee used his strong anti-communism to crack down on socialist strikers or uprisings such as the Jeju 4.3 Incident. Subsequently, tens of thousands of innocent victims lost their lives without knowing the exact cause. Rumors also had Rhee involved in the assassinations of his political rivals, including Yeo Unhyeong (1886–1947) and Jang Deoksu (1894–1947). Nevertheless, the Vatican and the religious leaders of the Korean Catholic Church decided to support Syngman Rhee in his state-building in the South because they thought it impossible to institute a powerful anti-communist government without Rhee.

As communism on the Korean Peninsula was on the rise, backed by the Soviet Union, and many Catholics, including Maryknoll priests and nuns, in the North were forced to flee south to continue to practice their faith, Bishop Byrne did not hesitate to condemn communism in radio broadcasts. In return, the communists in Pyongyang reacted in kind, threatening severe retaliation if the bishop should fall into their hands. The New China News Agency even labeled Byrne a spy in a joint American-Vatican espionage operation, for which Bishop Byrne regularly provided information on the placement of North Korean troops, industrial objectives, and other strategic spots (Lane 1955, 177). Accordingly, attacks by atheist communists on the South consolidated the links between the American military government,

the Vatican, and the Korean Catholic Church. In this context, the American apostolic visitor to Korea Bishop Byrne's presence took an important role in linking these three parties and strengthening their ideological alliance to fight communism in Cold War Korea.

Role of Catholic Leaders in the Establishment of the Republic of Korea

When the Korean Peninsula was divided immediately following liberation, the US-Soviet Joint Commission declared in December 1945 that Korea would be under trusteeship for five years. From that moment, the Korean Catholic Church opposed trusteeship over Korea. As the US-Soviet Joint Commission's cooperative actions came to a standstill in December 1946, American President Harry S. Truman (1884–1972) adopted a policy of containment against the Soviet Union beginning in March 1947. The General Assembly of the United Nations adopted resolutions on the Korea question on November 14, 1947. While the USAMGIK and Syngman Rhee pursued general elections solely in the South, Kim Gu and Kim Gysik opposed the idea, advocating the establishment of a unified government throughout the Korean Peninsula. The two Kims were worried that a separate government in the South would solidify the division of Korea. However, due to the failure of the US-Soviet Joint Commission, it became impossible to hold the general election in the North. Given this situation, the United States pushed the UNTCOK (United Nations Temporary Commission on Korea) to conduct the general election in the South alone. Syngman Rhee also expressed his plan to establish a separate government in the South, rather than a unified government with the communist-controlled North. Therefore, it was natural for the Korean Catholic Church to accept the notion of a separate government in the South. Pope Pius XII also supported the UN-sponsored general election only in the South, instructing apostolic nuncios to support the Korean delegates in the UN General Assembly.

The United Nations finally endorsed holding general elections in Korea on May 10, 1948, which fell on a Sunday. Before the announcement, General

Hodge asked Bishop Byrne whether the Church found it proper to hold an election on a Sunday. The Catholic leaders said they had no opposition to the day as the general election could become a kind of “holy war” (Choe 2014, 366). It seems that religious leaders took this as a God-given opportunity to demonstrate the victory of a free democratic system over communism. They regarded the election as a spiritual test to prove that the South’s political system would win. In February 1948, when the sub-committee meeting of UNTCOK was held, Bishop Ro attended as a representative of the country’s religious leaders, arguing that the Soviet Union did not want to establish a unified government on the Korean Peninsula and it would be impossible to implement a plan with the communist USSR. He insisted that the best way to implement the general election would be to hold it wherever it was possible to do so. He added that Koreans wanted to establish a democratic government but that there would be no cooperation between atheistic communists and democrats (Kim 2010, 78). On May 10, 1948, for the first time in its history Korea had a general election, but only in the South. Eighty-five percent of eligible voters, including women, registered, and among these 93 percent cast a vote.

In the wake of the election, the Republic of Korea was formally established on August 15, 1948. On the historic occasion of the inauguration of the new Korean government, Bishop Byrne was invited to give a congratulatory speech. Hoping that the Republic of Korea would soon be recognized by the United Nations, Bishop Byrne took this opportunity to criticize some of the delegates of the United Nations who were unwilling to cooperate with the new South Korean government in the General Assembly. Pope Pius XII also sent his congratulatory message to President Syngman Rhee and his new ministers with blessings for the future of the newly born state. On this occasion General MacArthur also came from Japan for his first visit to Korea. Chinese Bishop Yu Bin was also invited to the inauguration, but due to his busy schedule he sent two delegates in his stead. However, in order to become an independent state, further steps were required to obtain the endorsement of the United Nations. The third General Assembly was held from September to December 1948. John Chang was appointed by President Syngman Rhee to lead the Korean delegates.

The deputy leader was Chang Giyeong (1916–1977), while other delegates—Mo Yunsuk (1909–1990), Cho Byeongok (1894–1960), Kim Hwallan (Helen Kim, 1899–1970), Jeong Ilhyeong (1904–1982), and Kim Upyeong (1898–1967)—accompanied him as advisors. Bishop Byrne wrote several letters of introduction to apostolic nuncios for John Chang and the Korean delegates. Through Bishop Byrne’s recommendations, upon his arrival John Chang was able to meet a number of ecclesiastics from Catholic countries, such as France and Italy, who were skilled in diplomacy. The ecclesiastics also recommended other diplomats who knew nothing about Korea. John Chang worked tirelessly to convince about fifty delegates from around the world to vote in favor of Korea’s endorsement as an independent state (Lane 1955, 191–192; Ro [1967] 1984, 197–198).

Soviet lobbying efforts to prevent the UN from endorsing the new Korean government in the South were persistent. Their diplomatic actions and statements on the international stage were extremely vicious. Nevertheless, most of the other delegates accepted John Chang’s defense of his nation and finally on December 12, 1948, the Republic of Korea was recognized as a valid government by a vote of 48 to six.¹⁴ The United States was the first country to recognize the new republic. The chief American delegate, John Foster Dulles, gave the “voting checklist” to Chang with his warm hand-written congratulatory message: “To Dr. John M. Chang, With my compliments and best wishes for the future of Korea” (Heo and Tae 2016, 10). After the session in Paris was over, Chang was dispatched to Rome to obtain recognition of his country from the Vatican. This mission was also successful. When Chang had departed Korea for Paris, his passport, issued September 6, 1948, was the first issued by Republic of Korea. In that passport, his status was given as Special Representative of the President of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations and the Vatican (Heo and Tae 2016, 6). His visit to the Vatican can be explained by the fact the Holy See served as a great help in securing the endorsement of the Republic of Korea from the United Nations. Bishop Byrne’s letters to UN representatives

14. The counties casting a negative vote were Belorussia, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Ukraine, the USSR, and Yugoslavia. Sweden abstained. Guatemala, Panama, and Saudi Arabia were absent.

of Latin American countries, France, and Italy, where the influence of Catholicism was major, were likely a great help in winning recognition for the new Korean state (Ro [1967] 1984, 197). John Chang met Pope Pius XII on December 16 with Chang Giyeong, Fr. Park Goyeong (1919–2014), Fr. Seon Jongwan (1915–1976), and Fr. Pierre Singer (Seong Jaedeok, 1910–1992). John Chang delivered a letter from Korean priests and laypersons of the Seoul Diocese. In the letter, Korean Catholics made three requests of the pope: 1) to send an apostolic delegate to Korea as a special favor for Bishop Paul Ro; 2) to make the Seoul Diocese an archdiocese; and 3) to beatify the martyrs who had been executed for their faith during the Joseon dynasty.¹⁵ To this, the pope sent his response letter to the Korean Catholics dated December 22, 1948. Not long afterward, the Pontiff proved his keen interest in Korea as he appointed Bishop Patrick J. Byrne as the first apostolic delegate to Korea in April 1949. At the same time, the Holy Father named Byrne as titular bishop of Gazera. His enthronement ceremony was held in Myungdong Cathedral on June 14, 1949. Cardinal Spellman sent Auxiliary Bishop of New York Thomas John McDonnell (1984–1951) to officiate along with Bishop Ro and Bishop Larribeau. Others in attendance included President Syngman Rhee, several ministers, Kim Gu, foreign envoys—including the first American ambassador to Korea John Muccio (1900–1989)—as well as high-ranking American military officers of the American Eighth Army stationed in Korea. On October 21, 1949, the General Assembly of the United Nations formally recognized the government of the Republic of Korea as the sovereign government over the southern half of the peninsula.

Catholic Leaders' Perceptions of the Cold War in Korea

The recognition of the Republic of Korea can be interpreted as a great victory for the Vatican and the United States in Cold War Korea. William

15. "Gyohwang Bio 12se seongha-kke sangseo" (A letter to Holy Father Pius XII), *Gyeonghwang japji* 42 (1003), October 1948, 148–151.

Inboden remarked that America's first Cold War president, Harry Truman, regarded the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union as a religious war because many political leaders believed that they had a divine calling to oppose the Soviet Union and reshape the world according to God's divine design. Based on this firm belief, they perceived communism as evil and Christianity as the ideal weapon with which to confront it. Thus, the American government led by President Truman employed religion as a Cold War instrument to undermine communism abroad (Inboden 2008, 4-5). How then did the leaders of the Korean Catholic Church perceive the Cold War on the Korean Peninsula? In July 1947, President Truman signed the National Security Act and the National Security Council approved CIA intervention in the Italian elections to prevent the Italian communists from gaining a foothold. The CIA provided over US\$10 million dollars to Catholic Action, which was the political arm of the Vatican and Italy's Christian Democratic Party, after receiving an appeal from Pope Pius XII through Cardinal Spellman. Mainly due to this financial support, the communists were defeated in the Italian elections of April 1948. The pope played a decisive role as a back channel for President Truman in his fight against communism (Wallace 2013, 166). In Korea, however, there was no political party to represent Catholics or Protestants. Moreover, Christians were a minority of the total Korean population. As mentioned early, religion served as a bridge to link the American military government, the Vatican, and the Korean Catholic Church, but what the Koreans, whether Christian or not, wanted was to establish an independent state in Cold War Korea, not a Christian one. Religion was an important influencer in Cold War Korea and it was true that some of the Christian leaders such as Syngman Rhee wanted to establish a Christian nation on the Korean Peninsula. Bishop Byrne's mission was probably to help Rhee do so. However, it was not the whole story and ideological conflicts were not sufficient to explain Cold War Korea, a nation that had a thirty-five year history of Japanese colonization. Therefore, the religious leaders, who were an elite class in Cold War Korea, were to fight against communism in order to build a new state based on secular democracy.

Not longer after the Republic of Korea was established in the South on

August 15, 1948, the People's Republic of Korea was established in the North on September 9, 1948. By the end of 1948, the Soviet Union declared that they would withdraw from the North. Nevertheless, there were incessant skirmishes on the border dividing the two Koreas. Moreover, the news coming out of the communist North was gloomy. Bishop Bonifatius Sauer (1877–1950) of the Benedictines was arrested on May 9, 1949, and passed away on February 7, 1950 at the Pyongyang reformation camp (*gyohwaso*). Korean Bishop Francis Borgia Hong Yongho (1906–1950) of the prefect apostolic of the Pyongyang Diocese was also imprisoned along with three priests. Sister Maria Agneta Chang Jeongon (1906–1950), sister of John Chang and the head of the Maryknoll Convention in Pyongyang, was arrested by the North Koreans and executed, mainly for her family relation to John Chang, though the exact date of her execution is unknown. The year 1950 was a Holy Year for the Catholic Church, a Jubilee celebrated every fiftieth year for the remission of sins and universal pardon. At dawn on June 25, 1950, however, North Korean forces crossed the 38th parallel and invaded the South. The South Korean capital of Seoul fell to the North Korean army in less than one week. Bishop Byrne had a chance to escape to Japan, but insisted on remaining with his flock. Moreover, Bishop Ro was away in Rome when the Korean War broke out. On July 11, Bishop Byrne was arrested by North Korean soldiers along with his secretary Fr. William Booth (1898–1973) of Maryknoll. He was interrogated by the North Koreans and then forcefully moved to the North. After General MacArthur landed at Incheon with the UN forces and began the push into the north, these missionaries and other American POWs were transferred deeper into North Korea as winter was moving in. Then the so-called death march commenced. The North Korean commander, nick-named the Tiger, drove the missionaries and American POWs to walk through bitter conditions and freezing temperatures. During the forced march they covered more than a hundred miles in the summer clothes they were wearing when first arrested. Some young American POWs were even barefoot. They also fought severe hunger and various diseases due to malnutrition and poor sanitation. As the New China News Agency had threatened in earlier radio broadcasts, the communists treated Bishop Byrne cruelly when he fell into

their hands. Half-starved and poorly clad, he was forced to survive in almost arctic conditions with other captives and finally passed away on November 25, 1950, suffering from pneumonia, dysentery, and beriberi (Crosbie 1955, 135–173).

As the power struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union intensified, so did the Cold War proxy conflict on the Korean Peninsula and religion became a key variable used by both sides to gain strategic advantage. Soviet leader Joseph Stalin (1878–1953) reportedly instructed his ambassador to the United States Andrei Gromyko (1909–1989) to attend a Sunday service every week and listen to the sermons to understand the American mindset and value system (Inboden 2008, 1; Wallace 2013, 165). Unlike in the United States, Christians in Korea, whether Catholics or Protestants, were still a minority of the total population. Just before the Korea War broke out, the number of Catholics greatly increased. Nevertheless, the number of Catholic believers amounted to a mere 158,000 out of a total population of 19.5 million. Another 8,500 were studying catechism to be baptized (Lane 1955, 176). The number of Catholics just before the Korean War was less than one percent of the total population. However, ideological conflict on the Korean Peninsula was stubbornly persistent and intensified. Catholics regarded the atheistic Soviet Union as evil. Kang Incheol has posited that the anti-communism of the Korean Catholic Church for the first two years after liberation in 1945 had seven characteristics: 1) it was based on the polarized Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union; 2) it maintained that Korea held a central place in the postwar conflict; 3) Korean Catholics were deeply concerned with religious persecutions, in particular, the persecution of Catholics in communized places of the world; 4) the anti-communist antagonism of the Korean Catholics were particularly intense, as Catholics had real-world contact with communism in China and North Korea and had suffered from it; 5) its negative image of communism was intensified as communist atheism spread; 6) the Korean Catholic Church emphasized the close relationship between free democracy and Christianity; and 7) anti-communism rested heavily on the relationship between the United States and the Vatican (I. Kang 2001, 25).

Based on these above characteristics, Kang insisted that the antagonistic stance against communists held by the Korean Catholic Church constituted “religious anti-communism,” as the Korean Catholic Church regarded anti-communism as its *destiny* or *duty*, rather than a *choice*. Given the situation, the Korean Catholic Church joined political hands with the Korean Democratic Party, which maintained a strong conservative and anti-communist stance, as early as September 1945 (I. Kang 2001, 23). It is true that religious leaders like Bishop Byrne believed the struggle against communism to be their mission in Cold War Korea. However, ideology alone is not enough to fully explain the establishment of the South Korean state. As James C. Wallace has argued (2013, 180), the Cold War in Korea can be best described as a “religiously influenced” war. Likewise, the anti-communism of the Korean Catholic Church can also be regarded as a *religiously influenced* sentiment against the communists and socialists on the Korean Peninsula and as part of that Church’s desire to build an independent democratic state.

Conclusion

The Vatican realized the threat of atheist Marxist-Leninism well before World War II. In the papal encyclical *Atheistic Communism* issued in March 1937, the Holy See defined communism as atheistic and irreligious. As the Vatican expanded its papal diplomacy by increasing appointments of apostolic delegates and apostolic nuncios, the popes were able to exert more control and supervision over local secular governments. After Eugenio Pacelli became Pope Pius XII in March 1939, he took drastic and specific measures against the communists through the tool of papal diplomacy. In this, Korea during the early Cold War is a good case in point.

Christians in Cold War Korea played a significant role in building a new state in the South following liberation and then division in 1945. The Korean Catholic Church served as a vital link between the American military government in Korea, the Vatican, and South Korean political leaders. By appointing American Bishop Byrne of the Maryknoll as apostolic visitor to

Korea in August 1947, even before the formal establishment of the Republic of Korea, the strongly anti-communist Pope Pius XII was expressing his spiritual support of the South. Cardinal Spellman of New York, who had a good relationship with American military and political leaders, also exerted his influence on the Korean Peninsula to fight against the communist North backed by the Soviet Union. Unlike the general understanding that the Cold War in Korea was a proxy war between the United States and the Soviet Union, Bishop Byrne was sent to Korea to carry out the Holy See's own plans in Korea. The Vatican had a diplomatic strategy to regulate the Church's position on the divided peninsula. As the bishop delivered his letter of credential to Syngman Rhee, religion took on a meaningful role in state-building in Cold War Korea.

Religious leaders regarded anti-communism and building a new independent state as a duty that they must fulfill if they were to prevent the expansion of atheistic communism on the Korean Peninsula. This belief was a driving force among Catholic leaders, Koreans, and foreign missionaries behind their support for the establishment of the Republic of Korea. Even as they made tireless efforts at building a new state, the confrontation with communism on the Korean Peninsula was growing more intense than in any other place in the world. However, there was no political party in the South to present Catholic doctrine or spread the gospel. In Korea, Catholics and Protestants still remained a small minority of the total population. Ideology alone is therefore not sufficient to fully explain how a new state was formed on the Korean Peninsula, which had experienced thirty-five years of Japanese colonization. Thus, it is better to describe the Cold War in Korea as a *religiously influenced* war rather than a *religious* war. By the same token, the anti-communist stance taken by the Korean Catholic Church can also be best understood as a *religiously influenced* sentiment against atheistic communism as part of the desire to build a free and independent state.

REFERENCES

Primary Sources

Gatollik pyeonghwa sinmun

Gatollik cheongnyeon

Gyeonghwang japji

Secondary Sources

An, Jong-Chol. 2010. "No Distinction between Sacred and Secular: Horace H. Underwood and Korean-American Relations, 1934–1948." *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 23.2: 225–246.

Bennett, Jeffrey S. 2015. "The Blue Army and the Red Scare: Politics, Religion, and Cold War Paranoia." *Politics, Religion & Ideology* 16.2–3: 263–281.

Brazinsky, Gregg A. 2007. *Nation Building in South Korea: Koreans, Americans, and the Making of a Democracy*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

Chang, Myon. 1999. *Han al-ui mil-i jukji ankoneun* (If one Grain of Wheat does not Die). Seoul: Gatollik chulpansa.

Choe, Seonhye. 2014. "Hanguk jeonjanggi cheonjugyohoe-wa gongsan jeonggwon: Chodae juhan gyohwang sajeol beon jugyo-reul jungsim-euro" (The Catholic Church and the Communist Regime during the Korean War: Focusing on Bishop Byrne, the First Apostolic Delegate to Korea). *Gyohoesa yeongu* (Research on Church History) 44: 359–399.

Choi, Kiyong. 2014. "Ubin jugyo-wa hanguk dongnip undong" (Bishop Yu Bin and Korean Independence Movement). *Gyohoesa yeongu* (Research on Church History) 44: 321–357.

Cooney, John. 1984. *The American Pope: The Life and Times of Francis Cardinal Spellman*. New York: Times Books.

Coppa, Frank J. 2013. "Pope Pius XII and the Cold War: The Post-war Confrontation between Catholicism and Communism." In *Religion and the Cold War*, edited by Dianne Kirby, 50–66. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

Crosbie, Philip. 1955. *March Till They Die*. Dublin: Browne & Nolan Ltd.

Crosby, Donald F. S.J. 1978. *God, Church, and Flag: Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and the Catholic Church, 1950–1957*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

- Cummings, Bruce. 1981. *The Origins of the Korean War: Liberation and the Emergence of Separate Regimes 1945–1947*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Deane, Philip. 1954. *I was a Captive in Korea*. Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company.
- Dickinson, Anna. 2013. “Domestic and Foreign Policy Considerations and the Origins of Post-war Soviet Church-State Relations, 1941–6.” In *Religion and the Cold War*, edited by Dianne Kirby, 23–36. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Doak, Kevin M. 2017. “Tanaka Kōtarō, Korea, and the Natural Law.” *Sungkyun Journal of East Asian Studies* 17.1: 1–18.
- Felsecker, H. J. 2009. “Ma[r]yknoll History in Japan After Second World War.” *Maryknoll Mission in Japan*. February 5. <https://maryknoll-in-japan.blogspot.com/2009/02/maryknoll-seattle-christmas-2007.html>.
- Gannon, Robert I., S.J. 1962. *The Cardinal Spellman Story*. New York: Doubleday & Company.
- Gvosdev, Nikolas K. 2000. “Espionage and the Ecclesia.” *Journal of Church and State* 42.4: 803–823.
- Haga, Kai Yin Allison. 2012. “Rising to the Occasion: The Role of American Missionaries and Korean Pastors in Resisting Communism throughout the Korean War.” In *Religion and the Cold War: A Global Perspective*, edited by Philip E. Muehlenbeck, 88–112. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Han, Gihyeong. 2006. “Singminji geomyeol jeongchaek-gwa sahoejuui gwallyeon japji-ui jeongchi yeokak: *Gaebyeok-gwa Joseon ji gwang-ui yeoksajok wisang bunseok-gwa gwallyeonhayeo*” (Colonial Censorship Policy and Socialistic Magazines’ Political Dynamics: Concerning an Analysis of the Historical Topology of *Daybreak* and *Light of Joseon*). *Hanguk munhak yeongu* (Research on Korean Literature) 30: 171–202.
- Heo, Donghyeon, and Sugyeong Tae, eds. 2016–2019. *Jang Myeon, sucheop-e sesang-eul damda* (Chang Myun: Putting the World in His Notebook). 2 vols. Seoul: Kyongin munhwasa.
- Herzog, Jonathan P. 2012. “From Sermon to Strategy: Religious Influence on the Formation and Implementation of US Foreign Policy in the Early Cold War.” In *Religion and the Cold War: A Global Perspective*, edited by Philip E. Muehlenbeck, 44–64. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Inboden, William, III. 2008. *Religion and American Foreign Policy, 1945–1960: The Soul of Containment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jeong, Byeongjun. 2005. *Unam Yi Seungman yeongu* (Study on Unam Syngman Rhee). Seoul: Yeoksa bipyeongsa.
- Jeong, Hyejeong. 2019. “1920-nyeondae dongbuk asia-ui sahoejuui yeondong-gwa joseon sinmunhwa undong: Cheondogyo japji *Gaebyeok-eul jungsimeuro*”

- (Socialist Linkage in Northeast Asia and the New Cultural Movement in Joseon in the 1920s: Focusing on the Cheondogyo Magazine *Daybreak*). *Dongbuga yeongu* (Research on Northeast Asia) 34.2: 175–203.
- Kang, Hyosuk. 2018. “Kwandong daejijin dangsi joseonin haksal-ui uimi: Minjok, jenosaideu” (Meaning behind the Massacre of Koreans at the Time of the Great Kanto Earthquake: Nation, Genocide). *Jeonbuk sahak* (Jeonbuk Journal of History) 52: 275–306.
- Kang, In-cheol. 2001. “Haebang jeongguk-gwa hanguk cheonju gyohoe” (The Political Situation and the Korean Catholic Church after Liberation). In *Hanguk cheonju gyohoesa-ui seongchal-gwa cheonmang 2: Haebang gonggan-gwa hanguk jeonjaeng-eul jungsim-euro* (Reflections and Prospects on the History of the Korean Catholic Church 2: Focusing on the Political Situation after Liberation and the Korean War), edited by Hanguk samok yeonguso, 7–95. Seoul: Hanguk cheonjugyo jungang hyeopuihoe.
- _____. 2003. *Jeonjaeng-gwa jonggyo* (War and Religion). Seoul: Hanshin University Press.
- Kent, Peter C. 2002. *The Lonely Cold War of Pope Pius XII: The Roman Catholic Church and the Division of Europe, 1943–1950*. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press.
- _____. 2013. “The Lonely Cold War of Pope Pius XII.” In *Religion and the Cold War*, edited by Dianne Kirby, 67–76. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Kim, Suja. 2010. “Haebang ihu No Ginam jugyo-wa bangongjuui, 1945–1953” (Bishop Ro Kinam and Anti-Communism after Korea’s Liberation, 1945–1953). *Gyohoesa yeongu* (Research on Church History) 35: 69–97.
- Kirby, Dianne. 2003. “Harry Truman’s Religious Legacy: The Holy Alliance, Containment and the Cold War.” In *Religion and the Cold War*, edited by Dianne Kirby, 77–102. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Lane, Raymond A. 1955. *Ambassador in Chains*. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons.
- Park, Dowon. 1985. *Hanguk cheonju gyohoe-ui daebu No Ginam daejugyo* (Godfather of the Korean Catholic Church, Archbishop Ro Kinam). Seoul: Hanguk gyohoesa yeonguso.
- Preston, Andrew. 2012. “Introduction: The Religious Cold War.” In *Religion and the Cold War: A Global Perspective*, edited by Philip E. Muehlenbeck, xi–xxii. Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Ro, Kinam. [1967] 1984. *Dangsin-ui tteut daero* (Your Will Be Done). Seoul: Sanmun chulpansa.
- Tanaka, Masataka. 2015. “Gwandong daejijin joseonin haksal yeongu-ui gwaje-wa jeonmang: Ilbon-eseoui yeongu-reul jungsimeuro” (Problems and Prospects of

- Research on the Massacre of Joseon People during the Great Kantō Earthquake: Focusing on Research in Japan). *Dongbuka yeoksa nonchong* (Papers on Northeast Asian History) 48: 89–118.
- Wallace, James C. 2013. “A Religious War?: The Cold War and Religion.” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 15.3: 162–180.
- Wittner, Lawrence S. 1971. “MacArthur and the Missionaries: God and Man in Occupied Japan.” *Pacific Historical Review* 40.1: 77–98.